1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

103 traveling home on the river, the dog began to bark when the boat approached this land. The vessel was brought close to shore and Natsitsi allowed to jump out. He promptly began to run down a bear which the men, following behind, were able to kill. Since then the island has been called by the dog's name. Many lakes are designated to refer to their stocks of fish; thus Jackfish Lake and the numerous Fish Lakes dotting the area.

482 492 [494] *Land transportation.* Burdens are packed by men and women; animals, the dog and horse, are used to carry goods; and the sleigh and toboggan are employed to move supplies. In recent years people have begun to hire trucks for transportation along the Alaska Highway to a point from which they can reach the winter settlements by foot or boat. One Indian has purchased a used sedan and a number of other men spoke of purchasing half-ton pickups as soon as trucks became available. Pack sacks are manufactured by women from twelve ounce canvas. Each member of a family owns a pack sack, small children using theirs to pack a few pieces of bread and bannock to eat in the course of a journey. Guns are transported in moosehide gun cases provided with a carrying strap, but may also be carried across the shoulder by holding the forward end of the barrel. While hunting a man holds his gun in the crook of his elbow, supporting the trigger guard on his wrist so that the barrel points toward the ground. A sawed section of a tree trunk is sometimes impaled on an ax which is then swung over the shoulder. An additional section may be mounted on another ax and carried in the free hand. In general people do not pack more than thirty or forty pounds; whenever possible human packing is avoided.

492 Wooden pack saddles of native construction are used for horse transportation. Horses pack up to 250 pounds and with this load can travel up to forty miles a day. To cover this distance, however, requires an early start with camp made around noon. A horse, it was explained, cannot be worked all day without being injured.

Dog packs are canvas sacks, which are slung over the animal's back and secured under the neck and body. The sacks consist of two pockets, about two feet long and fifteen inches deep, sewn to fit on either side of the animal. Each pocket is fitted with three inch wide insets at the ends in order to allow expansion. An area, about seven inches wide, is left between the pockets to fit over the dog's back. Flaps, seven inches wide and fourteen inches long, are sewn at both ends of the center area. These serve to protect such contents as blankets, tarps, and tents which are packed so as to extend from one pocket into the other. An additional protection is provided by sewing a strip of canvas, about twenty-four inches long and twenty inches wide, on the open edge of one pocket. This extends across the top of the pack and is tucked into the other envelope, covering the contents of both. A strip of tanned skin, about two and a half inches wide, is sewn along the outside of each pocket, about two and a half inches from the open edge. These tanned skin strips are sewn only along their bottom length, the upper edge being perforated with six one inch holes spaced equal distances apart. Any piece of cordage is laced through these holes back and forth across the animal's back from one pocket to the other, thus securing the contents of the pack. Halfway down each end, on the outside of each envelope, a tanned skin tab about two inches wide and five inches long is sewn. These four tabs are perforated with one and a half inch holes. About a foot and a half of tanned skin line is tied to one tab at the front end of the pack and a similar length to the tab at the back end. The front line passes under the

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

long dress, and a sweater. Long cotton ribbed stockings (essential for summer protection against flies, mosquitoes, and other insects) and diminutive moccasins complete the costume. The head is covered with an embroidered cap. Diaper cloths continue to be used until the child is about a year old. In the morning and at night the baby is washed with warm water. 854

A fancy baby pack is sometimes made of velvet and wrapped around the baby in a manner similar to the blankets. Along one side and at the bottom the bag is fitted with lacing. The material of the pouch is bound tightly around the infant whose head is kept covered with a cap or with an inner blanket. The sack is supported on the woman's back in a wide shawl, but not by shoulder straps. When packed in this way, the baby faces the mother and often leans forward on the mother's back or shoulder while sleeping. 854 482

Baby packs are used only a relatively short time. By the time the baby is about six months old, the velvet bag has been discontinued in favor of a shawl or blanket in which the infant is bound as it sits astride the mother's back (Plate 4, a). This packing is used when the mother is traveling and also when she is working around camp. Older siblings or young aunts may also pack small children in this fashion. Older children are sometimes carried facing the mother in packsacks such as are used to carry meat and other supplies. These containers are fitted with holes through which the feet can extend. Sometimes an ingenious pack is made of canvas or ticking cut like coveralls with long trousers but lacking sleeves. This pack, used for children from two to four years old, is supplied with carrying straps that pass over the mother's shoulder. In such a container the child also faces the mother. Beyond the age of six months the mother begins to carry the baby in her arm or on her hip as she moves around camp. Sometimes a shawl extending around the mother's shoulder is used to support a baby astride the hip, but usually the only support is the mother's arm.

Children are always content on the mother's back, never kicking or squirming. Much of the day the year old baby is left free to crawl around the camp or cabin but always under the watchful eye of the mother. At night it generally sleeps with the mother; sometimes, however, a small child is placed in a hammock of blankets which is suspended over the parents' bedding. A baby is always laid on its back, never on the stomach. 854

Another aspect of infant care, protection, is illustrated by the mother's reluctance to leave a small baby alone. Small babies are rarely left in another person's care for more than a few hours. Even though the child could be cared for by an aunt or grandmother, most mothers will not leave camp to travel any distance and allow an infant to remain behind.

Up to about two years of age the baby is rarely or never punished and is the recipient of considerable attention, not only from the mother but also from its father, siblings, grandparents, and aunts. Although, as we have pointed out, the Kaska are an emotionally unexpressive people, they do demonstrate considerable affection toward the neonate and infant. A number of terms are employed to express devotion toward young children. Two of these are, tena zonze ("little man") and mamaze ("little mother"). Babies are rarely permitted to cry without some relative making an attempt to comfort or distract them. Emotionally expressive behavior toward babies includes bouncing the infant in the arms or on the back, mouthing its fingers, cuddling, holding its face close to the adult's, kissing the cheeks, uttering nonsense syllables, and praising it with kinship terms, like "my younger brother." [551]

1 Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

toward the excreta. The strongest attitudes of disgust are directed toward the feces, which are regarded as "dirty" and repulsive. 863

The development of childhood is accompanied by a definite change in the care which the infant has been accustomed to receive from its mother. This aspect of the parent-child relationship, whose characteristics will now be described, may be defined as withdrawing from the child his principal source of affective gratification. The pattern is not to be confused with direct rejection; the child continues to be loved passively and cared for in the family. What occurs is an emotional withdrawal of the mother, who in infancy was the chief source of affective stimulation. The mother becomes less responsive to the child's demands, less eager in her attention, more remote and disinterested in her appreciation. Stated positively, the mother becomes more concerned with herself than with the child, or, if there is now a younger sibling, more preoccupied with the infant than with the lap baby. 855 593

If the emotional rejection is correlated with the birth of a sibling it often has its initiation at about eighteen months, when the child is beginning to toddle. However, children often nurse until they are two years old, so that generally the mother does not begin to withdraw in her affective relationship until the youngster is between two and three. The process is both a gradual and an unconsciously motivated one. Its behavioral manifestations are many. For example, the child's crying is no longer responded to with the spontaneous attention that this behavior earned in infancy. "Don't cry for nothing!" the mother sharply scolds, as she continues with her work. Fretting for attention, which begins to appear in the two year old, is less tolerated, and the mother reprimands the child for clinging to her garments or body. For long journeys, children continue to be packed up to four or five years of age but around camp fretful demands to be carried and cuddled go ignored. Stella Wiley was exceedingly passive with two year old Laura. One time Laura was observed to crawl into her mother's lap. Stella accepted the child without any demonstration of interest. On another occasion Laura was clinging to her mother's skirts, whining and crying "mama." Stella continued placidly smoking and talking to her sisters, as though unaware of any distraction. Comfort is often withheld even if the child is hurt or frightened. Four year old Marie Lang had been vaccinated and came out of the mission crying. She ran to her grandmother, Mrs. Man. The latter made no direct effort to comfort her. For a few moments the girl sat quietly alongside the woman. Then she began to cry anew and threw her head into Mrs. Man's lap. Fleetingly the latter put her hand close to the child's head. Then she was distracted and turned to scold a noisy boy who was playing too close. Marie continued to sob loudly but Mrs. Man remained passive and unattentive. 865 [842] ● 593

Mildred Lang is in many respects one of the warmest women in the community.[39] Waiting for a ride at the Highway crossing her adopted daughter, Ann Wiley, started to fall asleep. She leaned her head on Mildred's arm. The latter shoved the child's head away saying: "Oh, go away you." Ann then leaned her head on a bridge girder and dozed. By the time a child is five or six years old, a clearly defined pattern may be observed in which comfort is no longer sought from the mother. The child has learned to endure pain by itself. Now children are sometimes seen weeping in solitude and sucking the first two or three 866 593

[39] She was warmly regarded by her nephew, Harry Lang, whose care she undertook for many years. See Harry Lang's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 332–333.

231 and others over the portages, has kept horses in the
492 country until the present time. Although Tahltans do nearly all the pack train work and a number of them have been in constant contact with horses for years, hardly any of them have become horse owners or attempted the raising of horses. This is probably not to be wondered at considering the life of the Tahltan. Long winters, cutting of hay, infeeding interfering with trapping, soft ground, etc., /militate against owning horses;/ the country is better for dogs.

● 482 Previous to the use of dogs for packing and
[493] hauling, goods were transported entirely on the back, except that in the winter, when snow conditions were favorable, hand toboggans were used. The latter are still used when dog sleighs are not available. Camp materials, food, meat, etc., are still in large measure transported on the back, and parties may often be met shifting camp or on the way to hunting and trapping grounds, all members carrying loads according to their
[492] strength, from aged people to children of ten and twelve years. Of course all the dogs have packs as well.

482 Loads were carried on the head with tump-lines. Occasionally for sake of change men sometimes carried with straps passing over the chest or shoulders. The common tump-line or pack strap used by the Tahltan consists of a strip of the leg skin of the caribou or moose (generally the former) cut to an even width and dressed in the hair. Some are dressed only a very little. The strip is usually about two feet long by four or five inches in width, the narrower sizes being generally used by men and the wider by women. To each end of the strap is sewed a piece of heavy leather five or six inches in length, of the same width as the strap and with rounded ends. To each end of these is sewn a double string of caribou leather or stout thongs about eighteen or more inches in length. These strings are used for attachment to the lashings of loads or to the carrying loops of pack-bags, etc. The strings are never wound around loads as is so often the case among the plateau tribes and therefore no great length is required. With many pack straps bone stretchers are used to keep the band flat. They are sewn across the inside of the band just above or at the junction of the leather ends by thread or strings passing through holes bored on their ends. Some are simply seized in position /sic/.
531 Most of them are made from the upper leg bones of
482 caribou of grizzly bear which are split and smoothed into a flat shape. Many of these bones were ornamented

with incised designs on one side. It is said the designs have no special significance, being merely for ornamentation, each person making them according to fancy. (For illustration of these bones and their designs see illustration of 16 of them, Emmons, Fig. 12). For illustration of a packstrap see Emmons, Fig. 11. The Tahltan claim this is a woman's strap. See also National Museum specimen 40. 482 [531]

Some pack-straps were made of heavy leather throughout, but these did not differ in size and construction from those of leg skin.

At the present day Hudson's Bay sacks are sometimes used in place of tump-lines for carrying light loads across the chest or the head. Breast straps attached to bundles for carrying across the chest were made of plaited caribou strings, (three or four strands). These varied in length and the longer ones were used as dog halters and for various other purposes. In carrying they were often doubled (specimen 41, National Museum).

Many loads had breast-straps as well as head-straps attached to them so persons could relieve the strain by using one and then the other. Heavy loads were carried on the head, especially up hill or on difficult ground -- but light loads were frequently carried across the chest. Pieces of skin, blanket, clothing, etc., were often used around the shoulders, across the chest, and even across the head under the straps to relieve the pressure with heavy loads. If the material packed was hard, pads were sometimes placed between the back and the load for similar reasons.

Bundles and large bags for transportation were lashed in various ways with cords of caribou leather. Some of these lash ropes had toggles made of bones of bear and other animals which were used for hitching the rope around. These were employed for easier adjustment and releasing of the rope. Emmons describes some of the methods of attachment (see Emmons p. 52). For other common methods of lashing and adjustment see lashing as arranged on woman's pack bag, National Museum specimen No. 42 and 43. (The latter has bear-bone toggles). Small quantities of meat were carried in game bags, but large loads were done up by lashing with caribou line and carried with a head-strap. Brush was generally put between 284 482

482 284 the meat pack and the back, or sometimes the folded skin of the animal. Meat for carrying was also rolled up and lashed in the skin. No skewers were run through the pieces of meat to keep them in position nor were temporary bags made of skins as among the Nitak and Shuswap. /One of the Salishan Ntakyapamuk or "Thompson River Indians?/

482 Skins however were made into temporary toboggans and meat hauled in them on the snow as among the Interior Salish.

493 Skin Toboggans

As already mentioned skin toboggans are still used to some extent for hauling stuff on the snow and before the advent of the wooden dog sled were extensively used for this purpose. They were made of legskins of caribou in the hair, trimmed in even width and sewed together with sinew, the hair /being placed/ all the same way and lengthwise with the toboggan. The bag of /the/ toboggan is closed at the top with a lacing of thong which passes through slits cut in the skin along the borders. The tow line passes through two heavy loops of hide at the head, the skin there being drawn together when in use making the toboggan pointed and easier to drag in the snow. Women generally hauled these toboggans (See National Museum specimen No. 44; also description of Emmons p. 53).

Trade

439 173 According to tradition very long ago there was little or no intertribal trading and the Tahltan group relate the following of pre-trading days. People were few and widely scattered and therefore seldom met each other. Long ago the Tlingit of the Coast were never met. They never came up the Stikine very far and the Tahltan never went down far. There was thus no trading with the Tlingit. At last Tlingit commenced to come up the river and finally met the Tahltan. After this they came often and finally came annually. The time when trading with the Tlingit commenced was long ago, but still not so very long ago. The time is 439 quite indefinite. It seems, however, that the Tlingit have traded with the Tahltan for a long time back. No doubt a great impetus was given to this trade by the arrival of trading vessels among the Tlingit in the beginning of last century and the establishment of trading posts by the Russians. In the quest for furs the Tlingit became in this trade middlemen between the

other was likely to die soon as both were considered to have, as it were, one breath. They were almost as halves of a whole. 845

Carriers As already stated, babies were placed in bags or baby carriers. Hammocks were also used but no board carriers or cradles of wood, bark, basketry, etc. The carriers of the Tahltan consisted of large pieces of dressed leather of caribou or moose which could be folded and fastened so as to form a bag when the child was to be carried abroad. When in the house the carrier was generally unfolded for the greater convenience of the mother attending to the infant. The folds of the carrier formed a covering or blanket for the infant, who was further covered with robes, etc., as occasion required. Carriers were of two general styles. Those used for very young children consisted of a piece of skin almost square and amply large to fold around the child. It was folded across the child's body first from one side and then the other and fastened tightly with the strings sewed to the skin at the proper places. The folds overlapped in front forming a double covering there. The doubled end was then folded up over the child's legs and fastened with tie strings to the lower front of the body. The top of the skin was equal in height to the child's neck or head or extended above the head if desired. Often the top was folded so as to 854 482

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cover the head entirely, the face only being left open. Sometimes the skin was cut narrower at the top and sewed together there so as to form a hood which protected all the child's head and face. In this case the child when being encased in the carrier was placed on its back with its head inside the hood part and the carrier was then folded around the body and legs of the child as already described. Some of the carriers for infants had no tie strings to fasten up the bottom part to the body; in this case the foot part (sometimes exceptionally long) was folded up first and the sides folded across on the top and fastened, thus holding the foot part also in place. These bags, carriers, or folded robes for children were provided with loops of thong at the back, one on each side about level with the shoulders of the infant. To these, the ends of the pack strap for carrying the baby were fastened. Some had two sets of loops for attachment of straps, for use over both the mother's head or shoulders. Most women used the straps over their head or forehead. As may be supposed the child was carried vertically with its back towards the mother's back. In all cases the baby was wrapped in a fur blanket before being enclosed in the carrier. This fur blanket was next the baby, whether in bed, in the house or carried. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

The other style of carrier in vogue among the Tahltan was for older children. It also was of caribou or moose leather. This bag was made a little larger than the size of the child, and in construction was a little more like a real carrier. The upper edges of the piece of skin were sewed together to form a hood over the child's head. The lower part of the skin was divided in three by two cuts reaching about one third up the bag. These cuts were parallel and only a few inches apart. Narrow strip in the middle and wide strips at each side. The latter were sewed up into legs closed at the ends or feet. The narrow strip of flap was folded up over the abdomen of the child helping to keep the child's pad in place. The sides of the bag were folded over the front of the child's body and fastened with tie strings which also passed over the folded-up flap or breech piece preventing it from slipping down. Some bags had an extra piece (or pieces) sewed to the side to better cover the front of the child. These bags were also provided with loops for attachment of the pack strap. Many bags had special pack straps attached to them permanently.

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Baby carriers were not ornamented very much. Some had pinking around the edges of the skin and fringes along seams if there were any. Piping of red or blue cloth were sometimes used in seams in later

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854 482 531 times. Seams were also painted with red paints. Some carriers of late have been ornamented with narrow stripes of different colored cloth or braid sewed on to the skin. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

854 482 Larger children were frequently carried on the woman's back enclosed in her robe. In this case no carriers were used. The child sat on the mother's back /with his/ face towards her and legs on each side of her waist. The robe, blanket, or shawl passing over the mother's shoulders and fastened tightly around her waist supported as well as covered the child.

"Conduits" As a rule a new carrier was made for each child. A few families, however, were not particular about this, and used the same carrier for more than one or several of their children.

The Tahltan say that regular carriers of stiff materials were used by the Tlingit because they wanted their children to have straight strong backs and be of good appearance when adults. They cared nothing about the legs. On the other hand, the Tahltan cared little about the back. They wanted leg development in their children. They desired that they have long strong legs and be good walkers.

Conduits of bark, wood, or skin common in carriers of the Interior Salish were not used by the Tahltan and neighboring tribes.

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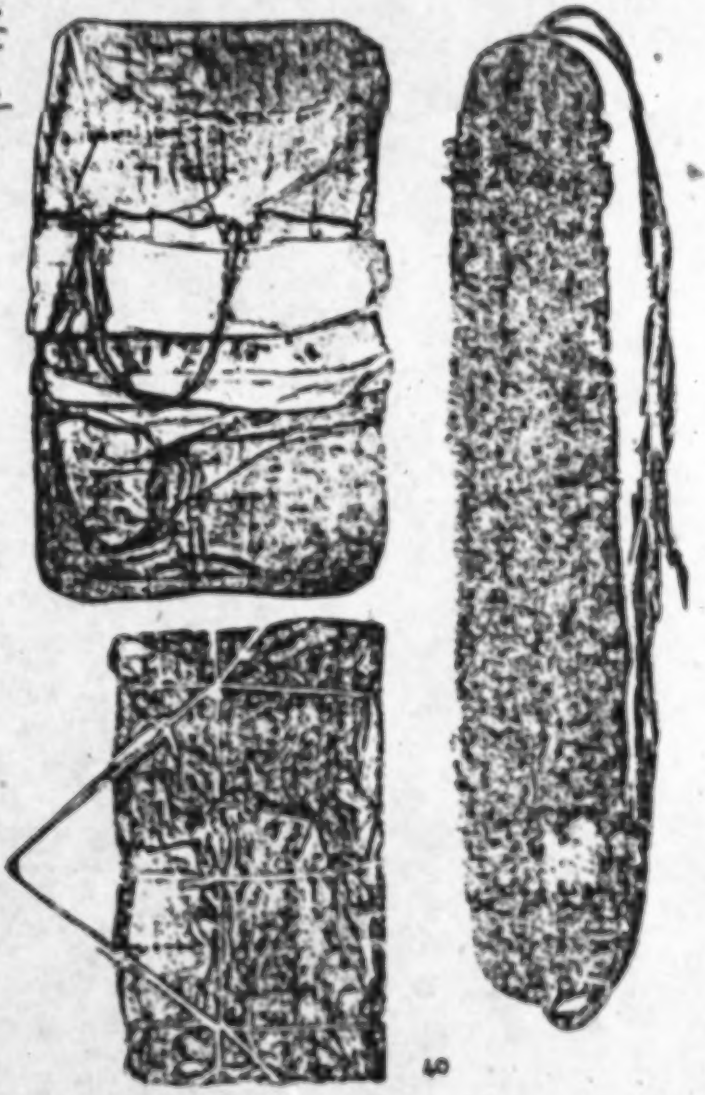

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[end plate 17]

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[End plate 19]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

verbal directions.[*] Separated groups of travelers who had need to communicate with each other did so by means of a limited repertory of smoke signals like these: One smoke, "we have killed game"; two smokes, "come over here"; three or four smokes, "we have had an accident (or trouble)."

Men and women packed goods but characteristically women carried the heavier loads. Only lines were utilized in packing, pack sticks being unknown. Pack lines consisted of four-ply braided babiche line. In supporting a back load the line passed along the outside of the arms below the shoulders and proceeded around the top of the load slightly in front of the vertex. If a heavy load caused pack lines to slip down the arms, a padding of moss was added. Men carried small game by tying one end of a packline around the head and the other around the rear legs of the animal. Fowl were transported in sacks of fine, netted babiche lined with babiche hide. Tanned skin bags up to three feet square held clothing and meat in transport. The cuben of an animal, closed at one end by sewing, provided a handy container for small tools. Berries and meat were held for short periods in birch-bark baskets. Dogs rarely packed goods prior to European contact. In the spring a pack dog's feet could be protected from crusted snow by moose-skin dog shoes in which small holes allowed the claws to project. Horses remained unseen until 1898.

In the absence of bark-chair baby carriers a woman transported her infant in a moose-skin bag lined with deep moss, the baby facing away from the mother. The bag hung against the mother's back supported by tanned-skin line. In winter a layer of fur lined the moss bag and insulated the child from the bitter cold. Following infancy children rode pick-a-back fashion on the mother's back, supported with a baby strap that passed around the outside of the woman's arms and was tied under her chin. A shawl of animal pelts, tanned with the hair on, provided protection from low temperature.

Several early travelers have remarked on the casual use of water transportation in the early post-contact period. Thus McConnell reports that the Indians "are very inferior canoemen, and are afraid to venture on the river except in its smoothest places. They seldom ascend the river with canoes, as they prefer to carry their outfits along the shore to tracking a boat against a rapid current, and to descending one small spruce bark canoes which they build in a couple of hours and abandon without much loss." Pike writes, "the Canoe and Liard Indians are poor boatmen, and do not make much use of the waterways, preferring to pack heavy loads through the woods to working a canoe upstream; while, if they wish to run down a river, they can make a bark or skin canoe in a few hours, and lose nothing by throwing it away at the end of the run. The birch on the Upper Liard does not grow to a sufficient size to supply bark suitable for canoes so much used on the lower part of the river."[**]

[*] Among the Chilkat Tlingit there were two confined directions that took their names from the winds. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 304.

[**] McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins* (1900), 102.

[***] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 81-82. Along the Pelly River this author "often noticed rafts tied upon the banks, evidently used by the Indians for crossing . . . . It is curious that they do not use canoes on such really navigable streams, but prefer to pack a load on their backs and make a straight course for their hunting grounds, crossing and recrossing the main stream to cut off a detour" (204).